Grandmothers Against Genocide

Org. nr. 935 375 088 – Drammen, Norway

To the

National Authority for Prosecution of Organised and other Serious Crime - NAST

NEW SUBMISSION OF EVIDENCE REGARDING

the criminal complaint against Prime Minister Jonas Gahr Støre, Finance Minister Jens Stoltenberg, Foreign Minister Espen Barth Eide – and former Finance Minister Trygve Slagsvold Vedum.

Case number 16783364 241/25-26

28 January 2026

We hereby submit the latest evidence and a summary of the reported parties' complicity in war crimes, crimes against humanity, and genocide. This concerns primarily the three current government members (hereinafter referred to as the Labour Party leadership). For Vedum, it concerns the period during which he served as Finance Minister.

In the original criminal complaint of 16 April 2025 we specify that the complaint concerns complicity in all of Israel's crimes. In this supplementary document we wish to clarify that this does not apply solely to the Palestinian territories, but also covers complicity in Israel's war crimes and crimes against humanity in other territories.

For the Labour Party leadership, their complicity in Israel's crimes spans a period stretching far back in time – two decades before the genocide Israel is currently perpetrating. We intend to prove that the Labour Party leadership's active moral, political, and diplomatic support for these crimes has been longstanding, knowing and wilful, and carried out with intent – by their unconditional support of Israel.

A historical introduction:

Forensic Architecture and B'Tselem have produced a historical presentation of Israel's occupation and wars of aggression against the Palestinians, from 1967 to 2014.

Our primary focus is the Labour Party leadership's active complicity in the crimes during Stoltenberg's second term in government, from 2005 to 2013, and subsequently from Støre's government in 2021 to the present. We will however briefly look back at the Labour Party's position, which may provide a clearer picture of the background to the decisions taken by the reported Labour Party leadership.

Some would argue that Israel's war crimes against the Palestinians began in 1948, when Israel expelled 750,000 Palestinians from their homes, and Palestine ended up divided into two separate parts: the West Bank and Gaza. The international community accepted

this. The armistice of 1949 established that Jerusalem was to be the capital of both; West Jerusalem became Israeli, and East Jerusalem became Arab.

We choose to begin with Israel's occupation of Palestine in 1967. UN Resolution 242 of 1967 states that Israel must withdraw its forces from all occupied Arab territories. The UN also stated that the solution to the conflict must be a lasting and just peace. If it is not just, it cannot be lasting.

In 1967, the Labour Party's most powerful figure, party secretary Haakon Lie, sided with Israel during the Six-Day War and the occupation of Palestine. He was among the first to reach the Western Wall in the Palestinian capital East Jerusalem, alongside Israeli forces.

Since that time, the Labour Party has maintained a historically one-sided support for Israel across all aspects of its foreign policy. This has not changed, regardless of how brutally the occupation developed.

After 1967, Israel began building settlements on occupied land in the West Bank. Moving one's own population into occupied territory is a particularly serious crime, as it constitutes a takeover – an annexation – of the occupied area. It is pure land theft.

In 1983, the UN General Assembly established in Resolution 38-180 that the core of the conflict in the Middle East was Israel's illegal occupation of Palestine. They called on all states to sever their relations with Israel until it had ended the occupation. Although most member states voted in favour of the call, no states followed it.

In 1993, Norway, led by the Labour Party, played a leading role in what became known as the Oslo Accords between Israel and the Palestinians. On the surface it appeared to be an agreement that would lead to an independent state for the Palestinians. It was not. On the contrary, the agreement legitimised Israel's occupation of the West Bank by permitting Israeli dominance over large parts of the occupied territory. There were no promises of an independent state in the Oslo Accords.

President Jimmy Carter wrote in several books that the Palestinians were completely deceived into signing an agreement that made their living conditions and prospects far worse. The agreement violates UN resolutions: before 1993, the UN's demand that Israel end the occupation was the prevailing principle. After the Oslo Accords, the principle became that Palestinian liberation should result from «negotiations between the parties».

This was to happen without any international pressure on the occupying power. It was obvious that "negotiations" would never provide the Palestinians with any path out of oppression. Those who insisted that peace must come about through negotiations – including the entire Labour Party leadership – placed themselves on Israel's side. The Oslo Accords have therefore been seen as a legalisation of a brutal occupation, displacement, and colonisation.

Israel's colonisation of the West Bank accelerated after the Oslo Accords. It has grown from ten thousand dwellings in 1970 to over 800,000 today.

Through the Oslo Accords of 1993, the Labour Party also contributed to Israel's military blockade of Gaza. The agreement established a maritime zone off Gaza's coast of just a few nautical miles. Beyond it, Gazans were prohibited from travelling, and the boundary was patrolled by the Israeli navy. This is among the most egregious things to have occurred in Norwegian diplomatic history – that the Labour Party contributed to Israel imposing a naval blockade on the world's most densely populated area.This meant that Gazans were no longer able to go out fishing – or sail out into the Mediterranean by boat.

Absence of protest is equivalent to support and encouragement, and the Oslo Accords were met with positive tones in all Western quarters. Encouraged by what the West tolerated, Israel then built a fence around Gaza in 1994. This also blocked Gazans' ability to travel in and out by land. Israel bombed the airport in Gaza in 2000 and bulldozed the runway in 2001. That was the last year a plane took off from Gaza.

The Foreign Minister in the Labour government at the time was Bjørn Tore Godal, who was responsible for following up the Oslo Accords. He approved Israel's blockade of Gaza without any hint of protest.

When the Palestinians attempted to resist the occupation – which is a human right – the Labour Party leadership spoke out and declared that "Israel has the right to defend itself, and the Palestinians must abide by the agreements." This meant accepting the Oslo Accords, which required the Palestinians to refrain from any resistance to the occupation. If they did not comply, they faced sanctions from the West. Jimmy Carter said this was the first time in history that the international community had imposed sanctions on an occupied people while supporting the occupying power. The Labour Party leadership has never once acknowledged the Palestinians' right to defend themselves.

Israel began construction of a separation wall inside the West Bank in 2000. The Conservative Party's Kåre Willoch stated in 2004 that the wall was entirely illegal, as it did not follow the recognised 1967 border between the two states, but was built *inside* occupied Palestinian territory. He stated that Resolution 242 must be respected. The Labour Party's former Prime Minister Thorbjørn Jagland was then chair of the Storting's Foreign Affairs Committee. He pushed back against Willoch, saying he was "more Catholic than the Pope." Jagland had no objection to the wall the Israelis were building, and said the borders were for the parties to arrive at through negotiations.

In July 2004, the International Court of Justice (ICJ) ruled on the matter, finding that the wall was contrary to international law. Jagland's words thus stood as clear support for Israeli violations of international law. The Labour Party's leader, Jens Stoltenberg, did nothing to correct this. Acceptance of the apartheid wall then appeared to be the Labour Party's official position.

In October 2005, the red-green coalition won the election, and Stoltenberg became Prime Minister in a government consisting of Labour, the Socialist Left Party, and the Centre Party. An enormous public controversy erupted a few months later, in January 2006.

Kristin Halvorsen of the Socialist Left Party, who was Finance Minister, had supported her own party's initiative to advocate for a consumer boycott of Israeli goods. The Socialist Left had done so as a measure against Israel's illegal wall and brutal occupation of Palestine. Halvorsen had expressed this support in response to questions from the newspaper Dagbladet.

The Prime Minister and Foreign Minister Jonas Gahr Støre reacted so strongly that it nearly caused a government crisis and a break between Labour and the Socialist Left. In the biography of Kristin Halvorsen, Lilla Sølhusvik (2012) writes that both Stoltenberg and Støre publicly stepped forward and emphatically declared their strong support for Israel. Støre wrote a letter to the Israeli ambassador assuring him that Norway was a friend of Israel. He wrote a letter to Condoleezza Rice saying the same.

Stoltenberg assured that all of the Socialist Left's wishes for support of Palestine had been rejected in the coalition negotiations. Both he and Støre went further in expressing support for Israel than any previous Labour Party leaders had done. In practice they abandoned the UN's demand for a just solution based on *recognised* borders. They now declared that Israel had the right to live within "*defensible*" borders. This was an Israeli expression meaning that Israel had the right to defend itself wherever it had erected an illegal house. Stoltenberg and Støre thus went further than any other Western leaders had done – those who still publicly spoke of a two-state solution and a just and lasting peace.

With this, Stoltenberg and Støre provided political cover for Israel's advance on occupied land. They demanded that Kristin Halvorsen grovel and apologise publicly. To prevent a government crisis, she was required to call a press conference and prostrate herself completely.

At the press conference she expressed deep regret, withdrew the statement, and explained that she had spoken as a member of the Socialist Left Party, not as a minister in a Labour government.

She then believed the matter was resolved. It was not.

After her public humiliation, the office of Prime Minister Stoltenberg issued a statement to the Norwegian major newspaper Verdens Gang, comparing Kristin Halvorsen's remarks to Nazi slogans painted on Jewish shops in Berlin in the 1930s. A full-scale campaign of harassment then erupted from the Labour Party leadership and other Labour figures against Kristin Halvorsen. It ultimately became so severe that the Norwegian press reacted and called on the Labour Party leadership to exercise restraint.

There was no longer any doubt about the Labour Party leadership's unconditional support for Israel. A couple of weeks later, Bergens Tidende published an opinion piece with the title "Is the Labour Party against peace in the Middle East?».

This is the backdrop as we now turn to the Oil Fund. We examine investments in companies that contributed to Israel's military occupation and warfare against the Palestinians. Kristin Halvorsen, as Finance Minister, was formally responsible for the Oil Fund, but she was completely stripped of any influence on anything related to Israel and

Palestine. In reality, it was Foreign Minister Jonas Gahr Støre and the Prime Minister Stoltenberg himself who were now handling this to them extremely important and prioritised area of foreign policy.

With Stoltenberg at the helm, the reasoning and practice that has accompanied the Oil Fund since, was spoken and written outright: "We are aware that Israel violates international law in the West Bank and Gaza, but see no reason to refrain from investing in companies that contribute to these violations."

See Appendix 13 - The World's Most Immoral State Fund

Stoltenberg and Støre thus decided in January 2006 that the Oil Fund should not withdraw from companies contributing to Israel's military occupation and warfare against the Palestinians. We hold that this constitutes, on the part of Stoltenberg and Støre, active complicity in Israel's war crimes and crimes against humanity from 2006 onwards. From the of autumn 2025, when the UN established that Israel is committing genocide, this fundamental policy of theirs has constituted active complicity in genocide.

As for Espen Barth Eide, throughout all these years he has been a prominent spokesperson for the Labour Party leadership's policy and has stood behind it. The fact that he has not been among the primary decision-makers does not exempt him from shared responsibility. His complicity is even more apparent in his role as Foreign Minister. His responsibility, if he were to be guiltless, would have been to protest and to resign from his position as Foreign Minister.

To understand anything of the incomprehensible genocide unfolding in Gaza today, it is too narrow to look solely at the unconditional support Western leaders have given Israel since 7 October 2023. This genocide has an explanation, which is Western leaders' unconditional support for Israel over several decades, which has pushed Israel forward in progressively graver crimes. They have not merely turned a blind eye. Through their almost aggressive support for Israel, and correspondingly utterly suppressive attitude toward the Palestinians, Western leaders have rendered this genocide almost inevitable. Over the past two decades, our Labour Party leaders have been among the most uncritical of all.

History will show that it is the support of Western leaders that has enabled Israel to embark on a campaign of warfare that has escalated into genocide. They have tolerated the carpet-bombing of civilians with thousands of thousand-pound bombs. They have tolerated a man-made famine catastrophe escalating into starvation by blocking humanitarian aid. They have tolerated thousands of deaths resulting from the blocking of medical aid. Since winter arrived in 2025 they have tolerated hundreds of thousands of Palestinians in Gaza living without shelter, as virtually all homes and buildings have been bombed to rubble, and tents are prevented from entering. They have tolerated children freezing to death, with no protection from cold, rain, floods, and biting wind – without any shelter in the form of a roof and walls. They are tolerating Israel's expulsion of 37 humanitarian organisations from Gaza. They are tolerating Donald Trump's "peace plan" aimed at seizing all of Gaza. They have tolerated Israel's destruction of UNRWA's headquarters in East Jerusalem on 20 January this year. The West has tolerated Israel's

violation of the so-called ceasefire every single day since 10 October 2025. They are tolerating Israel's continued bombing of Gaza.

SUMMARY

The Labour Party leadership displays a complete absence of morality – or at best, cowardice – in the face of the most egregious crimes that can be inflicted upon human beings. It is a life-threatening situation for our country and our people when the world situation demands integrity and courage from our leaders more than ever before. When our foremost leaders share this moral deficiency or recklessness with a majority of Western leaders, it is life-threatening for the entire world and for all our prospects of a future.

The Norwegian National Authority for Prosecution now has the opportunity to demonstrate through its investigation that Norway is a state governed by the rule of law that respects and upholds international laws and regulations.

Prime Minister Jonas Gahr Støre has neither protested against nor condemned the continued bombing. He has never introduced any measures whatsoever in an attempt to prevent the ongoing genocide. He has a history of not protesting against Israel's bombings – he has never protested against any of the previous massacres and terror bombings that Israel has carried out against the Palestinians.

Our Labour Party leaders have not merely tolerated Israel's crimes for two decades – they have been complicit in them, publicly defended them, invested in the crimes, such that the Norwegian state has grown immensely wealthy from them. They have delivered weapons and weapons components to Israel – in full knowledge that Israel would in all likelihood use them for further crimes against the Palestinians. There is no excuse for their actions – or their failure to act. It is no defence that in other contexts they present themselves as pleasant people. What they have done to the Palestinians is ice-cold, brutal, and inhuman. It is also unlawful and criminal.

We call for those reported to be investigated, charged, and prosecuted.

Drammen/Kongsberg,

28 January 2026

Grandmothers Against Genocide, by the founders

Marianne Bergvall and Kirsti Mæhle